THE
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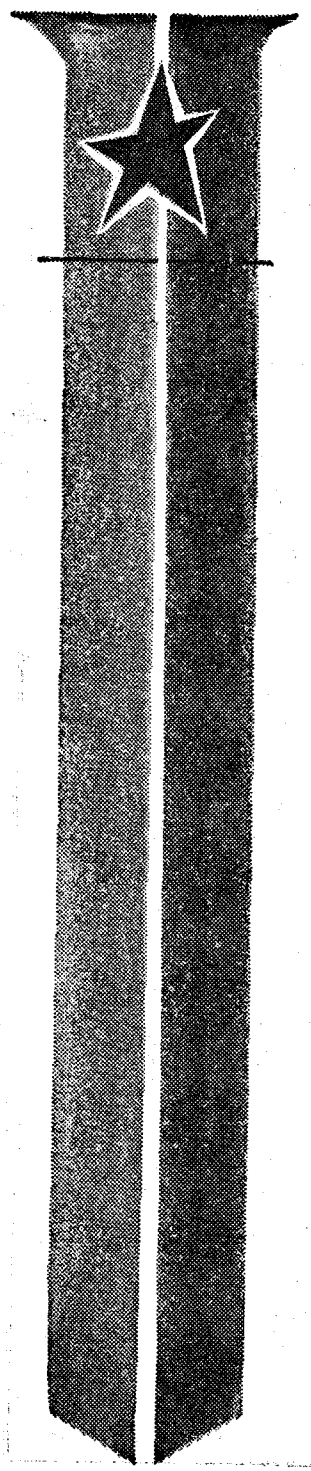

AFTER QUARANTINE

Negotiations? Bombings? Invasion? War?

✦

Castro and Cuba's Communists

Maurice Zeitlin

Sino-Indian Conflict

BATTLE for a BORDER

K. M. Pannikar

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LETTERS

Cuba

Dear Sirs: We have today sent the following telegram to President Kennedy:

"Your horrifying threat of military action on shipping on the high seas and possible massive retaliation by nuclear attack to any resistance places all the American people as well as many people in other countries in grave danger of death through nuclear war.... As loyal, responsible and informed American citizens we vigorously protest this act, which labels our nation as recklessly militaristic, and we strongly urge that you immediately withdraw your belligerent orders and threats and devote the energy and powers of your high office and of the United States to a vigorous and faithworthy effort, through the United Nations, to achieve the solution of pressing world problems, the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, and a rapid approach to the goal of general and complete disarmament through international law and in accordance with the principles of morality and justice."

LINUS PAULING
AVA HELEN PAULING

Pasadena, Calif.

Dear Sirs: A sober note is struck in *The New York Times* of Oct. 24 in a letter from Prof. Jonathan Harris of the Political Science Department of Columbia University, countering the national hysteria engendered by the President. He proposes that we attempt to strike a "deal" with the Soviets, whereby we offer to dismantle our IRBM missile sites in Turkey with which the Russians have been living as neighbors for 15 years and restrict the cruising range of our Polaris submarines, in return for their counterpart action in Cuba.

While this is the first reasonable proposal I have been able to detect out of the welter of self-justifying propaganda purveyed as news, I think we might pursue this line of thought a step further. How far does the President think we can carry policies of brinkmanship without igniting the world? ... We are entitled to know: where do we go from here? How does the President's policy guarantee peace, guarantee our survival, guarantee us against possible Russian retaliatory measures designed to wield counter-pressures? What way out does he leave the Russians, assuming they also want to avoid all-out war? How does the President propose to restore to the American people a frame of mind that will find some negotiation acceptable, bearing in mind that discussions always imply give and take?

New York City SYLVIA E. CRANE

Negro Apathy?

Dear Sirs: Thank you for Loren Miller's "Farewell to Liberals: A Negro View" [Oct. 20 issue]. I am compelled, however, to take exception to an increasing number of statements along this line, which report and, I am afraid, stimulate a breakdown in the cooperation between Negro and white leadership in the struggle for civil rights.

I am particularly disturbed by his sweeping indictment of the churches. As the pastor of a parish with predominantly Negro membership and leadership, and as one actively concerned for the racial aspects of human relations, I suggest that Mr. Miller has overestimated the strength of "Freedom Now" thought in the Northern Negro community. Disturbingly to the contrary, the problem is one of deplorable apathy to constructive action. The cultural escapism of the Muslims has, I believe, been sensationalized far out of proportion to its numerical and political significance.

There is a tragic complacency in the Negro communities of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, and in the years ahead, the most forceful cooperation between white and Negro leadership will be required to effect a wholesome dissatisfaction and desire for constructive action in these communities.

The Rev. RICHARD J. NEUHAUS
Lutheran Church of
St. John the Evangelist

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Short Day's Journey

Dear Sirs: In his perceptive review of the movie *Long Day's Journey into Night,* (Oct. 13), Robert Hatch referred to the splendid Broadway production several seasons ago and stated: "I do not know when or where it will be staged again." It may interest Mr. Hatch and your readers to learn that a new production of O'Neill's tragic masterpiece opened last month at the Cleveland Play House. . . . As Harold Clurman, Tyrone Guthrie and countless other theatre spokesmen have indicated, it well may be that the future of American theatre lies not in the hit-or-flop system of Broadway, but in the continued growth of professional theatre companies away from New York—or, as Mr. Guthrie terms it, in the provinces.

Cleveland, O. RUTH J. FISCHER

New Critics and Tories

Dear Sirs: Vivian Mercier ["The Critic vs. the Scholar," *The Nation,* September 22] gives the impression that with the "fruitful marriage" of the critic (the "New Critic") and the scholar (by which he seems to mean the textual analyst), the problems of literary study will be solved. It would be nice if the solution could come that easily. . . . But there is another dimension to the problem. It is significant that the New Criticism coincided with rejection of the

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1962
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THE NATION

EDITORIALS

After Quarantine

THERE ARE two basic aspects to the President's action announcing a "quarantine" or limited blockade of Cuba. One has to do with the wisdom of the decision itself, the other with the method and manner—the phrasing, staging and timing—of the decision.

As to the decision itself, any commentator or for that matter, any citizen, is at a distinct disadvantage since—at least at this juncture—only the President and his advisers can see "the big picture"; only they possess the full available information, only they can see the ramifications and interrelationships of the power equation. But this consideration does not mean that comment should be withheld; it merely means that it has to be offered with reservations and with a stated willingness to modify conclusions which later prove to have been based on faulty or inadequate information. Comment must also be made in full recognition and appreciation of the President's awesome responsibilities and in a spirit that does not attribute to him any motive other than a determination to do his full duty under the Constitution. So much is obvious.

As to the decision, a chief test of its wisdom relates to the aim or purpose of American policy toward Cuba. What is it, precisely, that we seek to accomplish by the present impressive display of power? Nowadays, when the power at the disposal of the United States is of such frightful magnitude, it is extremely important that the aims to be achieved by the application of this power—even in preliminary and restricted forms—should be discreet, limited and attainable. Today the magnitude of power is a factor limiting its application. As the President himself pointed out in Seattle on November 16, 1961, "There cannot be an American solution to every world problem." Even our power to destroy the world, or a large part of it, cannot accomplish all that we might want to see accomplished everywhere in the world.

What, then, do we seek to achieve by the quarantine of Cuba? Has it been imposed for the limited purpose of securing through negotiation the removal of missile sites of a character that might reasonably constitute a serious threat to the security of this country? Or has it been imposed for larger, undisclosed or perhaps not yet clearly defined purposes? The President, in his statement to the nation, sought to restrict the quarantine to the attainment of a limited purpose. Even thus limited, the purpose is broad enough to include, and perhaps even implies, the much more serious step of invasion or pin-point bombings. Moreover, it is difficult to accept without challenge the proposition that it was to secure the removal of the "sites"—whatever their character may be—that the President acted as he did. It is a matter of common knowledge that sites of some kind were under construction in Cuba for some time and that the construction of additional, more significant sites was to be anticipated (see: *Aviation Week and Space Technology,* October 1; *Aviation Week,* October 3). Even the so-called "hard" intelligence which the President received on Tuesday morning, October 16, could hardly have come as a complete surprise to him. Assuming that the character of the sites has been properly determined—and waiving the question of what in today's mad world constitutes an "offensive" weapon and what constitutes a "defensive" one—the intelligence which the President received was, as *The Wall Street Journal* points out, no doubt "a major military fact." Yet in the gigantic armament picture, as the *Journal* also notes, "this is considered really no more than a detail: the Soviet already has missiles on its own soil which could do the job." Nor would the quarantine as such undo what had already been done. To be sure, installation of the missile sites constituted grave provocation; but mutual provocation and harassment are the stuff on which the cold war feeds. By stressing the importance of the sites, the President has set the stage either for an invasion, if the sites cannot be removed by other means, or for pin-point bombings.

IN BRIEFINGS held in Washington during the week beginning October 8, government spokesmen ruled out blockade or invasion, since either would be an act of war and might well play into Russian hands by encouraging a squeeze on Berlin. Sevellon Brown, of *The Providence Journal,* reports that, at the briefings, it was stated that while the military build-up in Cuba, as of

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that date, "would add several hours to the time necessary for a successful U. S. invasion," it was still regarded as strictly defensive in character. As to nuclear warheads, it was stated that if the Russians would not give them to the Chinese, it was hardly likely that they would give them to the Cubans. Measures which were suggested at this briefing session were limited to strict surveillance of all Communist-Castro operations; careful quarantine, in cooperation with the OAS, of the island as a source of subversion; encouragement of existing tensions by way of making Soviet aid as expensive and as ineffective as possible.

Against this background, it is difficult to understand how the acquisition of "hard" intelligence on Tuesday, October 16, would, in and of itself, have produced the sudden, drastic and dramatically built-up action that followed. The springs of the President's action must, therefore, have been in large part related to matters that have not been disclosed. Perhaps Mr. Kennedy was concerned about the impact that the new intelligence might have on American opinion; perhaps he felt that a show of swift, dramatic action in a theatre in which American power was concentrated might discourage aggressive Soviet action elsewhere. Whatever the reasons, his action seems out of relation to the provocation or the occasion—and noticeably so in the way in which, through skillful planning, strict security and artful public relations the stage was set, the interest built up and the decision announced.

Did the President, for whatever reasons, want to make the most dramatic possible demonstration that he—and through him, we, the American people—was prepared to go to any lengths to resist "blackmail" or attempted intimidation? Did he want to demonstrate that we were not too "soft" to fight? (It was once possible to use ordinary diplomatic channels to convey a determination of this character; today such determination, apparently, must be orchestrated on the world stage with deafening din.) Did he feel, as Mr. Stevenson does, "that the only way to reinforce those on the other side who are for moderation and peaceful competition is to make it absolutely clear that aggression will be met with resistance, and force with force"? Perhaps. But this, and other possible reasons which might be suggested, are not those which the President cited to justify his action. His justification, we submit, was not convincing.

IT WAS not convincing because, in important respects, it was overstated and did not reflect a fair assessment of the facts. It is possible, to be sure, to detect differences in the circumstances which prompted us to ring the USSR with missile bases—the purpose of which we regard, of course, as purely "defensive," but which in all fairness the Russians can hardly be expected to regard in the same light—but the distinctions are not great. The fact that "our" missiles were installed "openly" and theirs "clandestinely" is hardly as significant as the President implied. The Russians are well aware of our skill in aerial surveillance; yet no attempt, apparently, was made to camouflage the Cuban installations. Moreover, it is important to note, one could read the President's statement without any awareness that the Cubans might have had good reason for the "rapid" way in which the sites were being readied and military assistance rushed in. A very powerful section of Congressional opinion, Democratic and Republican, has been bellowing for an invasion or blockade, and the Cubans have ears. Then there have been the numerous "raids," acts of sabotage, bombings, constant surveillance, etc.—not to mention the Bay of Pigs. Against this background, the President's stated case, we repeat, was not convincing.

BUT THERE are other aspects of the decision that also need close attention. Is our real objective—our "operational" policy—to bring down the Castro regime on no graver provocation than it has offered to date? Is the "quarantine" merely designed to test Soviet intentions as a preliminary step to an actual invasion? Even if our policy still excludes invasion, is the present policy likely to lead to invasion? If the President's dangerous gambit "works" in the sense that the Soviets do not put it to the ultimate test, will this fact stimulate those elements in this country—certainly not a majority now, but still a very significant section of opinion—who are spoiling for a fight? "Appeasement" can apply to domestic politics as well as foreign policy. If, as Mr. Stevenson says, the only way to reinforce those "on the other side who are for moderation and peaceful competition is to make it absolutely clear that aggression will be met with resistance," etc., then it is also true that the only way to encourage those at home who are for peace and moderation is not to appease the warmongers, the invasion-mongers, the hooters, howlers and screamers. As the President spoke to the nation, he was jeered as an appeaser by a genteel mob of "conservatives" who had assembled in Madison Square Garden to scream "Why Blockade? Invade!" As we said in these columns last week, a foreign policy can be formed through a series of acts or decisions taken on a more or less *ad hoc* basis; the ultimate goal and purpose of a policy so formed may be implicit in the chain of decisions and this purpose may not be that which those who took the decisions originally intended.

On the record, then, we do not think that the President justified his decision. But the record, we concede, may conceal as much as it discloses. We can only hope that the President will clearly and precisely define his objectives and adhere to them, and that he will not permit these objectives to be "broadened" by forces in this country that have unquestionably been encouraged, even momentarily "appeased," by his decision. There

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are dangers implicit in the notion of shifting to the "offensive" in policy matters, not least of which is the danger that each success stimulates still more hazardous risks and undertakings. The President should act, with the utmost diligence, to secure objectives consistent with his stated purpose—for example, the possible "demilitarization" of Cuba under guarantees of its territorial integrity. He should also initiate actions aimed at removing missile installations elsewhere that are as threatening and as intimidating to others as those in Cuba are to us. What he does in the wake of his dramatic action will provide the test of the real thrust and purpose of American policy toward Cuba. If this policy is really aimed at knocking over the Castro regime, if the quarantine is a prelude to invasion, then—in the absence of graver provocation than Cuba has offered to date—it would be both a disaster and a crime. The Bay of Pigs was a fiasco because the operation failed; an invasion would be a disaster because it would "succeed."

But there is still another perspective from which to judge the decision taken by the President and its possible consequences. If, as Mr. Lippmann points out, we are in the process of adjusting to the new realities that have arisen in the 1950s—the principal one of which is that the balance of power has shifted in the world (and not necessarily to our long-term disadvantage)—then it well may be that the old framework within which the cold war was confined must now be stretched to take into consideration these new realities. It goes without saying that *both* sides in the cold war must adjust to these new realities. In this perspective, the President's decision, despite the inadequate justification which he has offered for it, may set in motion a process of readjustment which will reduce tensions. Foremost among the hard realities—one which has now been breathtakingly demonstrated—is the fact that thermonuclear war is not, as the world has been saying, unthinkable; quite the contrary, it is perfectly thinkable. Let no one mistake the fact.

Operation Morningstar

With the eyes of the world riveted on Cuba and Berlin, the spotlight has shifted from South Vietnam at a moment when the state of affairs in that unhappy land should be engaging a measure of our attention. A year ago, General Maxwell Taylor conducted a survey-in-depth in South Vietnam, reported his findings to the President, and the flow of supplies and materiel was stepped up. Later, the Secretary of Defense paid a visit to South Vietnam and, in an exclusive interview in the *Los Angeles Times* (July 22), said that while the war would drag on for some time, it should be over by 1968 or sooner. Throughout the summer months, reports of "cautious optimism" were released from time to time.

More recently, Washington and Saigon were noticeably "bullish" about a grandiose military action labeled "Operation Morningstar." The operation, of course, turned out to be a dismal failure. In eight days of "fighting," 6,000 government troops, aided by hundreds of American military advisers, with American-furnished helicopters, managed to kill forty Red guerrillas and to capture only two. An American military adviser is quoted in the *National Observer* as saying that "the thing was doomed to failure from the start. You can't fight the Vietcong with corps and divisions." The reason for the South Vietnamese reluctance to engage in guerrilla warfare has been frankly acknowledged by General Tran Van Don of the South Vietnamese First Corps. On October 4, the AP quoted the General as saying that in order to practice guerrilla warfare successfully, it is necessary to have the confidence of the peasants; the General made it quite clear that Diem's forces do not enjoy this confidence. And there are other reasons. Napoleon is supposed to have said that "an army marches on its stomach"; in South Vietnam, the Army will only march on a full stomach. A dispatch to *The New York Times* (October 13) notes that the South Vietnamese soldier is addicted to three-hour lunches with siestas—a harmless enough custom, but militarily somewhat enervating. The fact is that the South Vietnam Army does not want to move against the guerrillas unless it can move with overwhelming superiority.

The American press has noticed the failure of Operation Morningstar, but the editorial comment has been bland and irrelevant. A familiar complaint, for example, is based on the increase in American casualties; so far this year, forty-five American advisers have been killed. Another complaint is directed at the vexatious censorship; a mysterious air strip near Saigon, from which American fighter planes take off on combat missions, is shrouded in deep secrecy. Criticism of this type is thoroughly justified, but it is wide of the mark. For by now it should be perfectly clear that American forces in South Vietnam are engaged, not in protecting "freedom," but in the essentially ugly business of suppressing a massive peasant insurrection against the Diem regime.

O. E. Clubb, Jr., in a perceptive recent study, "The United States and the Sino-Soviet Bloc in Southeast Asia," makes it quite clear that, as an Occidental power, the United States "can influence, but not determine, Southeast Asia's destiny." This is one of today's unpleasant realities. In the meantime, of course, this country's position in South Vietnam is dangerously exposed.

Should Moscow Censor Us?

Warren Rogers, Jr., Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, reviewed *Fail-Safe* for that paper's Sunday (Oct. 21) book section. Rogers then took the unusual course of appending to his review an editori-

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al deploring the publication of that book and of *Seven Days in May*. (See page 291 for *The Nation's* review of both novels.)

Mr. Rogers' thesis is that the books are not in the "public interest." This charge one would normally scorn as the mouthing of a political censor; but the case is rather special, for both books were explicitly motivated by a desire to serve the public interest. If they do the reverse, it could well be argued that publication was unwise.

But Mr. Rogers' reasons for coming to this decision are, to put it as politely as possible, baffling. The theme of *Seven Days in May* is a hypothetical military *coup d'état* in the United States; the theme of *Fail-Safe* is a hypothetical, accidental U.S. air attack upon Moscow. We should not discuss such possibilities publicly, says the *Herald Tribune's* Washington expert, because it is part of Russian propaganda that the United States is increasingly dominated by its military and that nuclear war might come by accident. He does not deny the truth of the first proposition; as to the second, he produces only an Air Force assertion that the catastrophe is "not a calculable possibility." Other forecasters, less personally concerned, have managed to give more precise odds.

The Russians also criticize our treatment of Negroes, have spoken in disparagement of our public education and may one day have something rude to say of the congestion on our highways and the stridency of our broadcast commercials. Are we to cease discussion among ourselves of any weakness the Kremlin may have discovered in our society or conduct? The absurdity of this position can be seen when one realizes that, in that case, the Russians could paralyze any move for improvement in America by publishing to the world a list of our weaknesses. Because — as Mr. Rogers, a newspaper man, should know — no country improves itself by nervously shoveling its problems under the carpet. If, for example, the military ever seizes power in this country, it will not be because of what the Russians have said, but because of what we have not had the wisdom to say.

THE MEANING of YOUR VOTE . . *by Blanche D. Blank*

THE BACKDROP for next week's elections is an outgoing Congress consisting of 64 Democrats and 36 Republicans in the Senate (with only 19 of the former and 15 of the latter up for re-election), and 261 Democrats, 174 Republicans and two vacancies in the House. (House replacements will number only 435 because of the reduction in seats following the 1960 reapportionment.) On the state side, there are 12 incumbent Democratic governors and 13 Republicans up for re-election, plus six races in which neither competitor is an incumbent and three non-contested Democratic slates.

Although a landslide victory for either party does not appear likely, none the less any sizable sweep would have a certain psychological importance in foreshadowing the 1964 Presidential race. In terms of the special arithmetic of Presidential politics, however, only the *gubernatorial* contests (and just certain ones at that) are really critical. In a nutshell, should Republicans make inroads here (or even should strong Republican incumbents like Rockefeller be returned with a heavy hand), the increased prestige and patronage possibilities open to these men could swing Electoral College votes two years hence (Kennedy's 1960 Electoral College margin was a precarious 35 votes). This means a careful eye must be kept on certain close races. These are (naming the Democratic candidate first): Brown-Nixon in California (with 40 electoral votes), Dilworth-Scranton in Pennsylvania (32), Swainson-Romney in Michigan (21) and DiSalle-Rhodes in Ohio (26). Even Texas' 25 votes are slightly unsettled by the Connally-Cox contest. Among the states with less substantial Electoral College significance, the Republicans might take Colorado, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Wyoming. The Democrats, on the other hand, are offering real threats to only three Republican incumbents: in Minnesota (Rolvaag-Andersen), New Mexico (Mechem-Campbell) and in Hawaii (Burns-Quinn). There is, of course, special significance in these elections to those candidates whose victory might spell a strong boost to the Republican Presidential nomination itself.

THE gubernatorial races, moreover, fulfill our criteria for significance by offering the voters a reasonable percentage of viable *contests*. Only Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina will go to the Democrats by default, and about one-third of the other elections are at least somewhat marginal. This more competitive quality in the state-house races is due in part to the fact that they cannot be affected by the reapportionment or redistricting that afflicts legislative contests. There is also more meaningfulness in these races because we are living in a world of continuous crises that force us increasingly to rely on the speedier, better-serviced, more coherent and more visible *executive* branches in our government. In short, the calculus of genuine competitiveness, executive domination and Presidential politics all combine to bring to these elections a

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significance not found in the legislative campaigns.

There are, of course, islands of importance among the Congressional contests (consider the fact that there were some 16 very close roll-call votes on critical issues in the 87th Congress), but not too many. Approximately two dozen races are, at least, excitingly marginal: a 2-3 per cent voting switch could swing the election. The White House, however, appears to be concentrating on about 16 House campaigns that add to "marginality" the advantage of incumbency. This is a recognition that third- or fourth-term Representatives are more important to legislative prospects than newcomers. According to Alan Rosenthal's study of the 1962 campaigns, the following elections, prior to the Cuba emergency, were among those receiving direct Presidential aid: Udall (Ariz.), Corman (Calif.), Harding (Idaho), Mack and Shipley (Ill.), Roush and Denton (Ind.), Breeding (Kan.), Olsen (Mont.), Moeller and Cook (Ohio), Rhodes (Pa.), Hansen (Wash.), Bailey (W. Va.) and Kastenmeier (Wis.). In making these particular selections the President was also influenced by the "cost factor" (i.e., how much it might have hurt these men to support various parts of his program).

In addition to this group, the White House is keeping a special eye on the 28 districts where Democrats won in 1958 but lost in 1960, the at-large race of Neil Staebler (former Democratic Chairman of Michigan) and the two California Birchite Republicans (Rousselot and Hiestand). On the Senate side, the Democratic Study Group (a collection of Administration supporters on Capitol Hill) feels that only four races are particularly vital: the retention of John Carroll (Colorado) and Frank Church (Idaho), who both contributed critical votes on important issues; and the addition to Senate ranks of David King in Utah and George McGovern in South Dakota.

TAKEN as a whole, therefore, the Congressional races may represent a lot of movement, but probably little change. Since Kennedy did not enjoy Presidential coattail benefits in 1960 (he ran *behind* the ticket in many districts), he is unlikely to suffer the setbacks that usually accompany a mid-term election. Furthermore, the reapportionment and subsequent redistricting that caused 16 states to lose 21 seats, while nine states gained 19, appears likely to result in a draw between the net Democratic and Republican gains and losses. But the major reason for predicting that the 88th Congress is almost certain to mirror its predecessor in program, if not in personnel, has to do with the *institutional limitations* that traditionally circumscribe the significance of legislative elections.

1) The Legislative Process. The primary limit to the significance of our Congressional elections is the actual manner in which Congress conducts itself. Note first that Congress (and most other legislative bodies) are increasingly becoming mere veto groups during this age of *executive* power. The major protagonist on the Washington scene is the President. Most issues and bills are generated by the Administration and among the heaviest pressure groups operating on Capitol Hill are the administrative agencies themselves. Even when we give Congress its "report card," we do so in terms of whether or not it has fulfilled the *President's* program (an implicit assumption that it has no program of its own). The most crucial national issue in the current Congressional campaigns—Cuba—is a matter largely shaped by what the President has said and done, and what he will say and do in the future. This style, then, of response rather than initiative, acts as a severe limitation on what *any* Congress can do.

The *committee system* is another major obstacle to having any substantive change result from the next elections. One Congressional expert, Floyd Riddick, states that: "Officially, the House and Senate legislate, but in reality they do little more than approve or disapprove what the committees respectively report to them." The power of committees can be demonstrated in countless episodes and statistics. In the 87th Congress, for example, the real culprit in the failure to enact a medicare bill is the House Ways and Means Committee, which bottled the House bill by a reported 15 to 10 votes, and to which any Senate bill (had one been passed) would have had to be referred.

Moreover, *committee chairmen,* chosen by a seniority system that rewards longevity, continuity and conservatism, play an inordinately powerful role. Of the 20 House chairmen, 12 are from the South and five from Northern "machine" areas; the few somewhat marginal incumbents head the less important committees. Of the 16 Senate chairmen (10 of whom are also Solid South), only five are now running and not one of them is realistically beatable. These are the men who select the professional staffs for their committees, appoint subcommittees (or fail to do so), determine when and where to call meetings, decide whether meetings should be public or closed, determine the order in which to consider pending bills and arrange to bring bills to the floor. In other words, they can stack the cards.

THE OTHER important leadership posts in the House reflect a similar resistance to change. Speaker McCormack is from a solid urban Democratic district; Carl Albert, the Majority Leader, is from an almost one-party border state; and Hale Boggs, the chief Party Whip, is a Southerner. The responsive, issue-centered Administration enthusiasts do not, in general, occupy the power posts. On their own admission, they have the least voice in leadership decisions and even the least regular access to the White House. Moreover, when the chips are down, the President seems more anxious to court his more reluctant dragons in Congress precisely because of their pivotal place in the power structure. Thus Kennedy recently threw his weight behind Charles Buckley in a Bronx primary instead of bidding for his Kennedy-oriented, "reform" opponent, because of the importance of Buckley's chairmanship of the Public Works Committee. In sum, each Congressman may have one vote and be equal to his peers; but, as the old joke goes, some are more equal than others.

The *Rules Committee* of the House deserves special mention. Under standard operating procedures, no

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bill comes to the floor without first being given a "rule" (fixing the timing of the bill and limiting, or failing to limit, debate). In recent years, this committee has grown increasingly vigorous in exercising its own discretion as to whether or not to report a bill. Needless to say, these prerogatives spell extraordinary power over the substance and likelihood of all legislation. Even such devices as "Calendar Wednesday," by which committee chairmen are supposed to be able to report any bill *without* an accompanying rule, turns out to be largely ineffective, since the alphabetic call of committees can be quickly turned into a jumble of dilatory procedures and nonsense bills invented by any small clique that so desires. As of last month, there were 22 bills awaiting Rules clearance and three of them (youth employment, mass transportation and medical-school construction) were high-priority measures in Kennedy's program. Last year, this committee was also the burial ground for the Administration's general aid-to-education bill and its Urban Affairs Department measure. It is important to note, furthermore, that this is the record *following* a supposedly liberalizing increase, from 12 to 15, in the committee's membership.

ANOTHER limit to possible election significance is the jealous guardianship by each branch of Congress of its own prerogatives. Thus the House Democratic leadership threw back at the Senate a much-needed agricultural-aid bill last week, simply because the Senate had had the audacity to *originate* it, and it is the House that traditionally initiates such appropriation measures. The Senate filibuster practices and the bicameral homage paid to logrolling (in which the vital, home-grown interest of each man is generally respected by his peers in return for the same consideration), also limit the arena for change. The pressures of constituency, tradition and regulations produce an atmosphere of compromise and restraint rather than one of initiative and adventure.

2) Lack of Real Competition. A patently obvious drawback to Congressional election significance is the absence of genuine competition in most of the contests. It is estimated that any incumbent, per se, has a 10-to-1 edge over any challenger; and when this is added to the persistence of one-partyism in both Northern and Southern districts, the number of *true contests* is reduced to a mere 85 or 90 in the House and about 10 in the Senate. (Over 20 per cent of the seats in Congress are actually uncontested.) A more subtle leveler to the competitive edge is the high cost of campaigning, with its resultant obligation of both candidates to what are often the same sources of money. Competitiveness between the parties is also reduced by the lack of machinery through which a legislative minority can present a unified and coherent opposition voice. Furthermore, as our foreign critics are fond of pointing out, there is at bottom relatively little difference between the two parties. Whatever basic cleavages do exist, moreover, are periodically homogenized by the need of each party to win the Presidential vote in a system that demands not only *numbers* of votes, but *distribution* of votes. In this way, the harsher dissensions that might flavor sectional or class parties are leavened, and the voter does not generally face sharp disparities of viewpoint even where he is lucky enough to face more than one candidate.

3) Lack of Issue Crystallization. The election game is likely to end with less than dramatic results, in part because of the striking and persistent policy vagueness and confusion that afflicts most Congressional campaigns. This cloudiness may be due to a known lack of issue-orientation that most pollsters find typical of American voters. The average voter is, in fact, a stable *party*-oriented man, and the relatively slim margin of switchers and floaters who really determine elections are known to be even less issue-conscious than the "norm." This voter deficiency is exacerbated, moreover, by the conscious failure of most candidates to educate their constituencies to real issues. The lack of relationship between issues and elections has been demonstrated, for example, by a reported compilation of polls from 1935 to 1946 indicating that public opinion on such matters as birth control, divorce, taxes, labor relations, socialized medicine, government ownership and race relations did not particularly govern the course of public policy.

Ambiguity is also introduced into the election-issue transmission belt by the multiplicity of issues and motives that accompany most elections. A record vote for a particular Congressman *may* reflect sentiment in favor of some policy—but which? Or is the vote merely gratitude for past favors, such as delivering pork-barrel tidbits to the community? Or is it simply a reaction to personal magnetism? There is even a genuine difficulty attached to actually *knowing* where any legislator stands on an issue. Vive voce votes evaporate and roll-call records can be seriously miscalculated. Jennings Randolph, for example (D., W. Va.), voted last July to table the Senate medicare amendment to the Administration welfare bill that the House had previously passed. Should this be interpreted as meaning that Randolph is anti-medicare? Not at all! He merely felt that the amendment would doom the total welfare bill, which included such priority necessities to his state as aid to dependent children of the unemployed. Legislators are rarely faced with simple pro-and-con decisions. Instead, they are forced into desperate compromises by the competing and sometimes contradictory demands of a complex society that has multiple needs.

4) Lack of Party Cohesiveness. Although partisan considerations are

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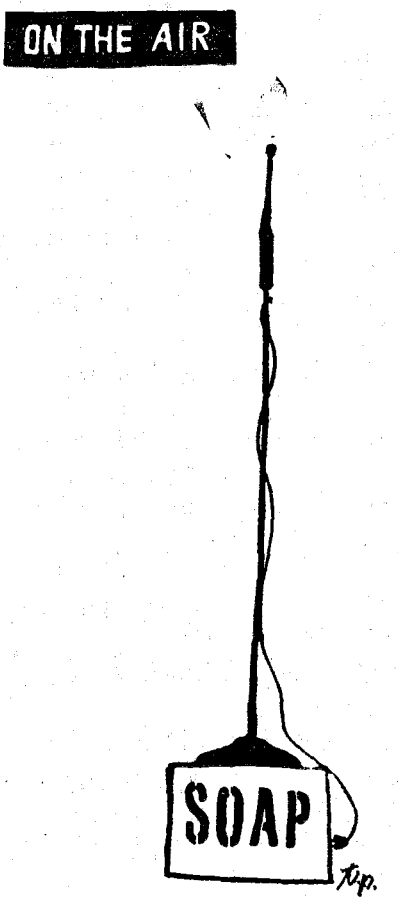
the most important and stable determinants in voting behavior, partisanism is *not* a very decisive factor in making American elections significant. Not only do our parties fail to develop real competitiveness and clear conceptions of policy, as noted in the foregoing, but they also fail to act consistently and cohesively. This phenomenon makes the voters' choice even more ambiguous and risky. How this limits election significance can best be illustrated by President Kennedy's pronounced dilemma in his current campaign efforts. He calls for the election of more Democrats to put through his program, but does so in the face of the embarrassing fact that he has just recovered from a series of defeats with a nicely Democratic Congress behind him (approximately a 5-3 edge in the Senate and 3-1 in the House). Since he cannot ask for the replacement of *any* Democrat (no matter how anti-Administration), what he really seeks is the election of more "Kennedy" Democrats—a breed most likely to flourish in the same climate as the liberal Republicans whose help gave him the support that carried some of his crucial programs (like foreign trade) to success. It is the "Gung-Ho" Republicans, like the Southern Democrats, who are generally unshakable.

THE COMPLEX truth is that there are very few thoroughgoing Democrats or Republicans. A statistical study done by Professor V. O. Key, in 1953 and 1954 of 145 House roll calls revealed that a majority of Republicans opposed a majority of Democrats on only 64 issues, most of which dealt with administrative matters such as the organization of the government or with the procedural rules of the legislature itself. On *substantive* issues, the degree of dispute was much narrower. As of July, 1962, the 87th Congress appeared to be moving in a similar manner. There was an increase over 1961 in the number of nonpartisan and relatively noncontroversial votes in the Congress. In fact, about 42 per cent of the votes could be placed in this noncritical category.

The rough calculus that provides us with a measure of a legislator's support for the President's program reveals an uneven and slight gap between the parties in Congress. But whatever pattern of party solidarity one tries to wring out of this reluctant scattergram, it is not likely to prove convincing to a voter who happens to know, for example, that one of Kennedy's severest setbacks was dealt to him by Representative Otto Passman (D., La.), who emasculated the President's foreign-economic-aid bill; nor to those who witnessed the big hassle over farm funds, in the final week of the 87th, between Democrats Richard Russell and Jamie Whitten; nor the final blows that fell in that Congress when Democratic Representative Cannon hurled violent abuse at the Democratic Speaker, John McCormack. "I have sat under ten Speakers and have never seen such bias and inept leadership," charged Cannon. And to round out this scene, one must also note that the closing resolution praising Speaker McCormack for his "wonderful job" was offered by Representative Charles Halleck, the Republican Floor Leader.

THE ELECTION equation is indeed obscure. The voter is partisan, but the legislature is not. Underlying these strange phenomena is the fundamental truth that similarity of constituency is more the basis for Congressional solidarity than party considerations or national issues. Thus, a metropolitan-based, ethnically sensitive Republican has more in common with Democrats from similar areas than he has with fellow Republicans who hail from solidly white-Protestant, rural districts. In this very election, we see Kennedy and Eisenhower trying to impress the voter with different views on vital foreign and domestic policies, while the newspaper polls assure us that the voters themselves—except for the Cuban crisis—are far more impressed with strictly local problems and personalities that are bred by their own back yards.

In sum, party dispersion in our legislative halls is so pronounced that a distinguished committee of the American Political Science Association in a unanimous report in 1950 (and nothing essential has changed this pattern in the ensuing decade) concluded that: "the alternatives



between the parties are diffused so badly that it is often difficult to determine what the election has decided even in the broadest terms."

5) Lack of Governmental Cohesiveness. Finally, the U.S. Constitution strikes another institutional blow against election significance in terms of meaningful changes. Federalism, first of all, produces a hopeless jumble in both ballot and brain. The myriad local, state and national officers who face the voter in a single election merely exacerbate the struggle between national and state policies. Education, to take just one example, straddles both orbits of our doubly sovereign system. But which candidate at which level can interpret and singly fulfill any particular mandate? Even where a voter splits his ticket and designates different parties at different levels, no clear policy translation is possible. The separation of powers and checks and balances that restrain not only our national government, but all of our states as well, also vitiates the probability of policy change resulting from any single set of elections. To begin with, power is dispersed: the

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Congress may vote a program, but the President may veto it or the Supreme Court set it aside. Since all of our public officials are not selected at the same time, nor in the same manner, nor from the same constituencies, the electoral messages they may distill from their respective victories may be quite varied—and no one set of officers can deliver the program *alone*. When President Truman remarked that "the buck stops here," he was, by implication, assuming commitments that even he could not truly balance with power. And that is the fate of most election promises. Even when clear, they cannot be delivered.

Where, then, does all this leave us? Just where we've always been: sitting back watching the election game with a hopefulness not entirely likely to be fulfilled, but with a dedication to the importance of the game itself and a singular concern for the unquestionably existent segments of significance.

CASTRO and CUBA'S COMMUNISTS . . *Maurice Zeitlin*

This is the second of two articles on Cuba by a Princeton University sociologist who recently returned from the latest of several visits he has made to that country. The first article, "Labor in Cuba," appeared in our October 20 issue. Mr. Zeitlin is co-author, with Robert Scheer, of The Eagle and the Pearl, *a study of Cuban-American relations to be published next spring by Dell.*—Ed.

FIDEL CASTRO'S speech on March 26, 1962, delivered before a nationwide television audience, was one of the most important political events of the Cuban revolution. It may have signaled the demise of the independent organizational existence of the *Partido Socialista Popular* (Communist Party). The speech began as a vague denunciation of "sectarianism"; but it developed into a direct attack on the party and on a veteran member of its Politburo and National Committee, Aníbal Escalante. Castro charged that Escalante, in collusion with other Communists, had attempted to usurp the authority of the Revolutionary Government:

> The nuclei were deciding and governing at all levels; and the problems of the Ministries, instead of being resolved within the Ministries, were going to the office of ORI [Integrated Revolutionary Organizations] to such an extreme that if a cat gave birth to four kittens, it was necessary to go to the office of ORI to see what was to be decided about that.
>
> That is, there was no theme, there was no question, there was indeed no detail that did not have to be discussed in the office of the ORI. . . .
>
> Was it a real power? No. It was not a real power. It was a formal power. It was a fictitious power. There was no real power in the hands of that *compañero*!

These developments, Castro continued, "were accompanied by subtle campaigns against a series of exceedingly valiant *compañeros* of the Revolution, that originated in the same sectarian politics." Castro asked:

> How did this affect the masses? Well, simply, it dampened the spirit of the masses . . . it dampened the fervor of the masses.
>
> How did this affect the political organization of the Revolution? Quite simple, *compañeros*: we were not creating an apparatus . . . we were creating a yoke, a strait jacket. . . . The masses were not being integrated. They spoke of Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, but what were the organizations? There was one organization formed . . . in the *Partido Socialista Popular*. . . .
>
> So then, how were the nuclei formed? I'll tell you how: in every province they made the general secretary of the PSP the general secretary of the ORI; in all the municipalities they made the secretary general of the PSP the secretary general of the ORI; in all the nuclei . . . they made the PSP member the general secretary of the nucleus. Is that integration?
>
> People began to ask themselves: "But is this communism, is this Marxism, is this socialism? — this arbitrariness, this abuse, this privilege, all of this? . . ." If this is communism, then they will say what the Indian Hatuey said. When they were burning the Indian Hatuey alive, a priest approached to ask if he wanted to go to heaven. And he said: "No. I don't want to go to heaven if this is heaven." Do you understand?

This speech did not mean, nor have the Revolutionary Government's actions since the speech indicated, that the Fidelistas and the Communists have split. As Castro explained:

> What must our attitude toward the old Communists be? It must be an attitude of respect, of recognition of their merits, of recognition of their militancy. What must their attitude be? Modesty. From this moment on, *compañeros*, every difference between old and new, between the Sierra and the plains, between the one who threw bombs and the one who didn't, the one who studied Marxism and the one who did not study Marxism before, must cease definitively. From this moment on we must be one and united.

Despite this declaration of unity, however, Castro could not refrain, in his instructions concerning the "reorganization and purification" of ORI and of all levels of the country's administration, from detailing further the extent to which the Communists had attempted to concentrate power in their hands. Speaking in mid-April before the Provincial Committee of the ORI of Matanzas, Castro said:

> If in whatever factory . . . there were twelve old militants then six were taken, one for the G-2, another as a diplomatic courier, another for the foreign service, another to administer one thing, another for a trip; and there remained six more, and of the six who remained, one they made administrator, the other chief of personnel, the other shop foreman, the other chief of something else — and not one remained. And when it came to forming the revolutionary nucleus, they had recourse to

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sectarian procedures again, converting into members of the nucleus the administrator, chief of personnel and the shop foreman, plus their secretaries and intimate friends. . . . The masses? Outside! . . . When there was no old Communist, they chose the brother of an old Communist, the cousin of an old Communist, as if we were living in the Middle Ages, in the epoch of counts and marquis, and not in the epoch of the proletarian revolution.

IN THE WAKE of these speeches, the entire political-economic administration of the country was subjected to a rigorous purging by committees appointed directly by Castro, Ernesto "Ché" Guevera, Minister of Industry, and Raul Castro, Minister of the Armed Forces. Throughout the island, the activities of the local revolutionary nuclei were suspended until a national delegate could oversee their reform and reorganization; general secretaries of provincial and municipal ORI units, factory administrators and chiefs of personnel were replaced or demoted and militia units were reformed.

This process has continued up to now and was going on this summer during the three months that I was traveling throughout Cuba. There was scarcely a factory, town, ministerial department or militia unit that I encountered which had not experienced some sort of reorganization and change of personnel.

It is clear that, until Castro's speech, the Communist organization, despite Communist claims to the contrary, remained more or less intact. Organizational loyalties, lines of communication, directives emanating from officials of the party and the characteristic discipline of party members remained as before. According to Castro himself, the party — led by Aníbal Escalante, who had acted as its general secretary during the clandestine years of the Batista regime — issued its own directives and acted independently of the government. Aníbal Escalante, utilizing his position in the ORI secretariat, saw to it that people who were not members of the *Partido Socialista Popular* were by-passed — that they were neither consulted nor appointed to positions in ORI, the embryo of the projected United Party of the Socialist Revolution.

The PSP was the only one of the three major organizations integrated in the ORI (PSP, Movement of the 26th of July, Revolutionary Directorate) that constituted a real political apparatus. The PSP directed itself toward the preservation of its apparatus, the concentration of key positions in its control and the acquisition of benefits for its members, rather than toward cooperation with the *fidelistas* and the construction of a new United Party. That process has apparently been halted since Castro's speech, the subsequent reorganization of the ORI and Aníbal Escalante's exile from Cuba.

THE reorganization has not meant, to be sure, that old Communists have necessarily been replaced from the cadres of the Movement of the 26th of July or of the Revolutionary Directorate. This has not been merely an act of political expediency by the *fidelistas*, although politics may have played some role.

The PSP's attitude toward the armed struggle of the *fidelistas* against Batista was hostile in the initial stages, and continued to be equivocal throughout the guerrilla war. One reason for this equivocal stand was that the PSP leadership was itself divided — and the division continued into the period of the consolidation of the revolution. An internal party struggle was quietly waged over what the PSP should do about the revolutionary government, and about the extent to which it should now give up its own identity and independence. Thus, in the post-March reorganization, Communists were not replaced merely because of their former PSP membership; the more important criterion was their current loyalties as indicated by their actions of the recent past.

Thus, for example, while all six of ORI's provincial general secretaries had been old Communists, only four were replaced (three by non-Communists). The reorganization elsewhere apparently followed a similar pattern. There are, then, former members of the PSP still in important positions throughout the government and in the national secretariat of ORI; but the PSP itself has been dissolved and the original leaders of the Revolution — the men who led the armed struggle for power — are firmly in control.

Most important, despite their self-proclaimed adherence to Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the Cuban revolutionary leaders continues to resemble more what a reporter for the London *Observer* called "the old-fashioned revolutionary socialism of Keir Hardie" than that amalgam of Russian temperament, Soviet experience and Marxist theory which has come to be identified as Marxism-Leninism.

IT IS worth citing at length excerpts from the speech by Castro in which he initiated his attacks on "sectarianism," since in that speech he describes his view of history and of what the attitude of a Marxist should be. On March 13, the students of the University of Havana met to commemorate the death of José Echevarria, founder of the Revolutionary Directorate, who had died on that date in 1957. A student speaker, a leader of the *Jovenes Rebeldes*, read Echevarria's "political testament" but omitted from it the phrase:

> We are confident that the purity of our intentions will bring us God's blessing so that we may bring the rule of justice to our nation.

Castro became incensed when he noticed this omission. In essence, he denounced the rewriting of history and asserted his belief in freedom of expression:

> Are we going to mutilate what [Echevarria] believed? . . . What kind of faith is that in one's own ideas? What conception is that of history? . . . Could such cowardice be called a dialectical conception of history? Could such a manner of thinking be called Marxism? . . . If we followed that mode of thought, we would have to destroy the concept of the revolutionary from Spartacus to Martí. As a result of that myopic, sectarian, stupid and warped conception, which denies history and denies Marxism, we would be forced to deny all values, all history. We would be forced to deny our very

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roots! . . . For all that treasury of human progress, of human effort, of human sacrifice, should be gathered up and added to our nation's beautiful history and to the beautiful history of a mankind which is progressing. . . .

We say that in the struggle for national liberation, in the struggle against imperialism . . . in the fight against *latifundismo* and exploitation, the fact that one may be a believer, whether his religion is Christian or whatever, while the other is a Marxist — has faith in Marxist philosophy — is no obstacle; and we come here with this display of cowardice to suppress a phrase. . . .

Into what is the Revolution changed by this? Into a tyranny! And that is not revolution! . . . And what must the Revolution be? The Revolution must be a school of courageous men, the Revolution must be a school in which there is liberty of thought! . . .

CONSISTENT with Castro's attitude, bookstores throughout Cuba continue to sell whatever there remains of books by Western scholars, as well as polemically anti-Socialist and anti-Communist books: books, for instance, in Spanish, such as *Religion en alcance de todos, La iglesia catolica frente al comunismo,* and Lerner and Cassel's *Teoria general de Keynes.*

The Biblioteca Nacional, Cuba's central public library, continues to receive regularly such U.S. publications as *Time, Life, U.S. News, Look* and the *New Leader,* as well as such journals as *The New Republic* and *The Nation.* British newspapers such as the London *Observer* and the *Manchester Guardian* are also available. The full spectrum of political opinion, then, can be read in the foreign press by anyone with the knowledge and the inclination to do so.

The libraries of the University of Havana, the Central University of Las Villas and the Biblioteca Nacional have general scholarly collections comparable to those in our own college libraries. Among the many polemically anti-Communist books (in Spanish) in the Biblioteca Nacional, for example, here are some catalogued under "Communism" (with their call numbers, so that any interested AP or UPI reporter can check):

335.43: Ponce de Leon, *Los Monstruos que Acechen.* 337.47: S. J. Walsh, *Imperio Total.*

At the University of Havana library:

335. E: Max Eastman, *Reflexiones sobre el fracaso del socialismo.*

335.4 K: Arthur Koestler, *El mito sovietico ante la realidad.*

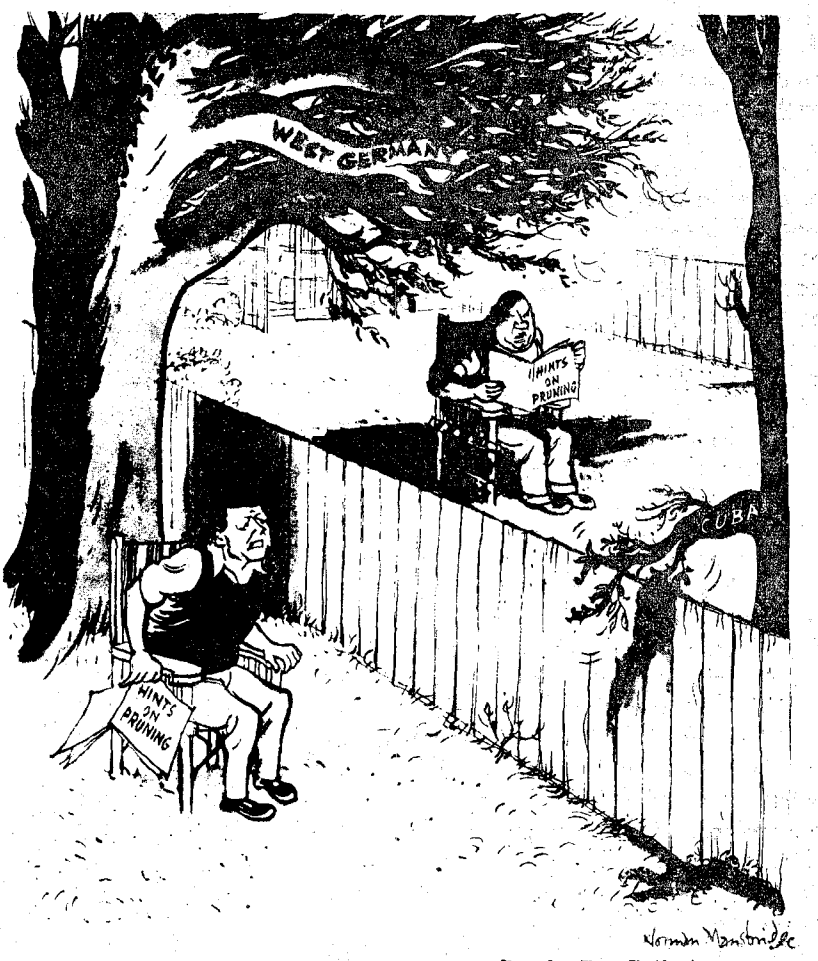
943.7 S: Dana Adams Schmidt, *Anatomia de un estado satelite.*

There are also such varied works as Trotsky's *Terrorismo y comunismo,* Hans Kelsen's *Teoria comunista del derecho y el estado,* M. Ketchum's *What Is Communism,* Arthur Schlesinger's *The Vital Center,* Blas Roca and Earl Browder's *La conferencia del cancilleres de la Habana* and Raul Roa's *En pie.* (The last two, because of their revisionism and anti-Soviet polemics, are particularly embarrassing to two prominent Cuban politicians.)

It is possible to hear American broadcasts clearly on ordinary radio in many parts of Cuba, and the government has not attempted to prevent this in any way. American movies, glorifying the American way of life, Hollywood-style, continue to play at almost every Cuban movie theater and on afternoon TV.

DESPITE the fact that the majority of Cubans in all walks of life are supporters of Fidel Castro (as one becomes convinced after touring the country), it is quite easy to find opponents of the regime—especially in Havana, where perhaps 50 per cent of the people are discontented. Taxi drivers and bus boys, department store clerks and grocers will, with the slightest encouragement, engage in a vituperative denunciation of the government. One can travel, as my wife and I did, from one end of the country to the other, knocking on doors at random, talking to people in their homes, in public squares and parks, in factories and schools, on the university campus or in buses and theatre lobbies, without being interfered with—talking and questioning, and even giving

A British View



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the U.S. Government's viewpoint on international affairs.

In one factory, a group of workers cornered the American sociologist who had been interviewing them to ask some questions of their own. Since it was quitting time, the crowd soon grew to over fifty workers who raised questions about everything from the inevitable American "Negro problem" to Soviet nuclear testing. And they received a brief lecture on our federal system of government in explanation of the President's difficulties in enforcing the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, and an opinion that the Soviet resumption of nuclear testing had led to increased tensions and helped to confirm the view that the Soviet Union is an aggressive power. An exciting interchange continued for more than a half hour until the bus arrived to transport the workers home.

The fact is, then, that Cubans can and do inquire and speak freely about whatever they wish—at this moment. On the other hand, the newly reorganized curriculum of the University of Havana requires that every student must take one year of a course entitled "Dialectical Materialism," whether he be studying medicine or physics. The textbooks in most courses are direct translations of Soviet texts. The great majority of books sold on newsstands and in bookstores are from the Soviet bloc countries, China and Yugoslavia. More important, the Cuban newspapers, radio and TV are, essentially, instruments of the government, and there are no noticeable differences among the opinions expressed by the various editorial writers and news commentators (many of whom lift their "opinions" bodily from Tass). A one-sided view of international issues is constantly given in the mass media which glorifies the Soviet Union and denigrates the United States. Cuban newsreels are masterful propaganda documents which emphasize the seamier side of American life and distort the workings of our democratic political system.

Organized dissent is prohibited, if one can judge by the government's response to a recent demonstration of a group of housewives in Cárdenas who went marching through the streets banging pots to protest food shortages. The next day the government put on an impressive military display which included helmeted soldiers (a sight one rarely sees in Cuba) and tanks.

THERE are no formal safeguards of freedom of speech and association or of personal, civil and political rights, of the kind traditional to Western political democracies. Such freedoms as do exist depend only on what Fidel has called "the revolution's generosity to its opponents." There are certainly no institutional mechanisms or judicial procedures designed to protect the individual and guarantee his freedom from unreasonable search and seizure or arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. The members of the government, the Cabinet ministers, are responsible not to the general citizenry—who did not elect them and who had no direct voice in their selection—but only to themselves and the handful of revolutionary leaders—Fidel, Raul, "Ché,"—who appointed them.

These leaders *are*, in fact, the government. They are the decision-makers; and there are no established channels by which the masses can directly influence them or recall them. (One must not forget, on the other hand, that the people are armed; wherever one goes, one sees ordinary citizens, including long-finger-nailed women in high heels, with rifles or sub-machine guns slung over their shoulders. If this is not an institutional mode of insuring the responsibility of government figures, it is, nevertheless, a certain source of countervailing power.)

It is quite obvious from the above that the potentialities for totalitarian rule are strong in today's Cuba. They have been held in check until this moment by Fidel and his fellow revolutionary leaders whose personal beliefs are anti-totalitarian. Unless strong and immediate steps are taken, however, to establish legal guarantees of civil liberties, the present uneasy equilibrium of democratic and anti-democratic tendencies may be upset. Such steps are not likely to be taken, though, by the revolutionary leaders in the state of impending siege in which Cuba finds herself today. The chances that the libertarian features of the Castro regime will survive, are likely to become increasingly slimmer the louder are the demands in our Congress —and the closer to fruition they become—for the blockade, invasion and overthrow of the Revolutionary Government.

BATTLE for a BORDER . . . *by K. M. Pannikar*

Srinagar, Kashmir

THE PRESENT explosive situation on the Sino-Indian borders arises primarily from China's denial that the boundaries between Tibet and India have been clearly demarcated. India's point of view is that traditionally, and by accepted natural features, these have been well understood and defined for a very long time, and while she is prepared to examine adjustments based on evidence in regard to any particular area, she must reject the claim (which the Tibetans themselves had never put forward) that the whole boundary from the Pamirs to the Burma borders—a length of over 2,500 miles—should be subjected to re-examination. Though the dispute, therefore, covers technically the whole length of the Sino-Indian frontier, the present pressures are confined to two areas: Askichin in Ladakh on the northwest and the Mac-

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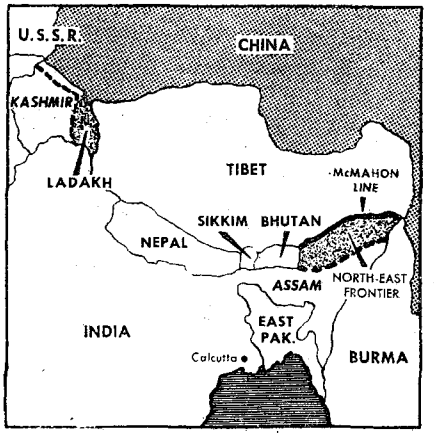
Mahon line to the north of Assam between Bhutan and Burma. In regard to both of these areas, there is a background which it is necessary to understand for a clear appreciation of the problem.

Ladakh is a high Himalayan plateau between the Kashmir Valley and Tibet, which has alternated between the two in its political affiliations. For example, it was a Ladakhi chief, Rinchana, who, after having usurped the throne of Kashmir in 1320, became converted to Islam and started the movement of Islamization of the state. In the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, however, Ladakh seems to have accepted the authority of Lhasa, but Zorawar Singh, a general of Gulab Singh of Jammu, conquered it for his master. When, in 1846, as a part of the settlement of the war with the Sikhs, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was created as Maharaja Gulab Singh's dominion, Ladakh became a part of his principality. Until 1947 it continued to be a province of the princely state, but when the Maharaja acceded to India, it became a part of the Indian Union along with the state itself.

It is well to emphasize that neither Kashmir under its Maharajas nor Tibet under the Dalai Lamas was known for its administrative efficiency. The Maharaja's government in Ladakh was confined to towns and to populated areas in the lower heights (13,000 feet) and contented itself by the affirmation of its authority over the higher unpopulated snow-covered areas (average height 16-18,000 feet), though occasional tours of inspection were undertaken by the Maharaja's officers. The Lhasa administration showed no concern over this area and for over a hundred years the situation had continued in this manner without causing the least trouble to either party.

WITH the Chinese take-over of Tibet, the position underwent a radical change. The Government of India, while fully aware of the Chinese claims with regard to the MacMahon line on the Northeast Frontier, had no reason to think and could certainly not foresee that any dispute would arise in respect of the barren and unoccupied Askichin area of Ladakh, which had been under Kashmir by a treaty signed by the emperor himself. The Chinese, however, were interested in building a road from Sinkiang to Lhasa, both for reasons of defense and for opening up of the country. The caravan road from Sinkiang to Lhasa passes through Indian territory in Askichin and was traditionally used without much let or hindrance by traders going from Kashgar to Lhasa. There was no Indian post in this area and the Chinese quietly constructed a motor road over the caravan route without anyone on the Indian side



being aware of it. When, after the completion of the road, India came to know of it, she protested vigorously and claimed the area to be within her territory.

Following the visit of Chou En-lai to India in connection with this controversy in 1959, a committee of officials from both sides was appointed to study the record and report on the conflicting claims of territorial sovereignty. Though the evidence produced by the Indian side and published in the report proved conclusively that the sovereignty had been continuously exercised by India over that territory, no discussions on the basis of the report have yet taken place. In the meantime, the Chinese authorities have pushed forward their posts further into Indian territory. The Indian Government also has not been idle. They had to start from scratch. The area is over 18,000 feet high. They had no road of any kind, nor any base near enough for immediate action. But India showed determination, moved its posts forward, established bases, built mountain roads and equipped its armies for an active defense. The position is so confused in this region that there are Indian posts behind Chinese lines and vice versa, and though at one place the Chinese tried to encircle the Indians and came quite close to them, they decided in the end to withdraw and leave the post under Indian control.

THE position on the eastern side along the MacMahon line is altogether different. This covers the area to the north of Assam between Bhutan and Burma and was defined as long ago as 1914 at a conference held in Simla, between the Indian Government, China and Tibet. An agreement was reached among the three parties defining not only the boundary between India and Tibet, but also between outer Tibet—that is, the territory under the Lhasa regime —and inner Tibet, which was under direct Chinese administration. The Simla Agreement was initialed by all the three parties, but China later on refused to ratify it on the technical ground that the Tibetans should not be allowed to sign as a separate group but must be included in the Chinese delegation, as representatives of a vassal government.

It is necessary, however, to emphasize that no objection was taken to the demarcation of the boundaries between India and Tibet. It may further be emphasized that successive Chinese governments before the present Peking regime had assured the British Government in India that their objection to the Simla Agreement was not in relation to the Indo-Tibetan boundary, but in regard to the boundary between China (inner Tibet) and Tibet as laid down in the same agreement and that so far as the Indo-Tibet boundary was concerned, they accepted it as final. In any case, during this period (1914-47), Tibet, whether a sovereign state or not, had independent relations with India and for thirty-eight years had accepted the MacMahon line as the definitive boundary. Also, in 1947 at the time of India's independence, the Tibetan Regency Council, which was then in charge of the Lhasa administration, after some hesitation, confirmed the previous agreements and accepted the MacMahon line.

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In 1954, India and China entered into a treaty which regulated their relations in this area and no question was raised about the validity of the MacMahon line. Nor did the Peking government at that time show any inclination to question it. When the attention of Chinese authorities was drawn to maps in circulation in China and published in their official publications which marked the Tibetan boundary further to the south of the MacMahon line, the reply of the Chinese Government invariably was that they were old maps prepared in the time of the "reactionary Kuomintang regime" and that no importance was to be attached to them.

After the question of the Askichin road involving the occupation of territory which India claimed to be hers came under protest, Peking began to claim that the entire boundary, including the MacMahon line, was undemarcated and required to be negotiated and defined. As if to give point to this position, they occupied a place called Longju inside the MacMahon line but claimed by the Chinese to be outside it.

IT IS necessary to mention that by this time (1959), the relations between India and China had undergone a change as a result of events in Tibet. That year, the Khampa rebellion in Tibet had taken a serious turn and public opinion in India was greatly agitated about the steps that the Chinese were taking to put down the uprising. Public sympathy was entirely on the side of the Tibetans. Though the Indian Government itself maintained a strictly correct attitude, the Tibetan rebellion moved the Indian public in a manner which no other international event had done in the past. The only comparison possible to the state of Indian feeling on this issue is the reaction in the Western countries at the time of the Hungarian revolt. This was naturally interpreted by the Chinese as an attitude of hostility towards them. The flight of the Dalai Lama to India and the enthusiasm with which the public welcomed him further convinced the Chinese that Indian policy had become unfriendly to them.

The border issue along the Northeast Frontier (the MacMahon line) consequently assumed a new importance for both parties. The Chinese strengthened their communications, erected new posts, established advanced bases, brought up reinforcements, in fact created a formidable military force on their side. The Indian Government, realizing the changed posture of the Chinese, was equally active in strengthening its defenses. They were already in effective occupation of the whole area up to the MacMahon line, with an efficient civil administration and regular military establishments. The Chinese, however, have probably much greater forces concentrated in Tibet. Following the Khampa rebellion, the whole country has been placed under military occupation and a very considerable army, with every kind of modern equipment, is said to have been brought into Tibet. Also the road communications have been greatly improved so that the Chinese can bring to bear considerable pressure on any point along the whole frontier.

THE FACT that both sides are building up their strength and that clashes have occurred need not lead us to the conclusion that India and China are on the brink of war. The fact is that both sides are well aware that a major conflict between them could not remain localized and would, in any case, lead to the breakdown of the great development plans on which both are engaged. What then is the purpose behind these clashes, protests and other forms of pressure? Clearly all that India wants is to uphold the traditional boundaries in Ladakh and the MacMahon line in the northeast. The Chinese desire, as they have indicated more than once, to settle the boundaries on the basis of effective occupation: that is, they are prepared to accept the validity of the MacMahon line as the boundary of effective occupation if the area which they have occupied in Ladakh is accepted as falling within their boundary.

The Chinese claim that there is no aggression in Askichin and other areas in Ladakh, as they lie entirely within the Tibetan boundary as shown in their maps and, in any case, were not under Indian occupation. In the Northeast Frontier, the incidents have been in a village two miles south of the MacMahon line on the Indian side—but, according to the Chinese, to the north of it. While the matter is serious enough, it is well to emphasize that it is not an attack on the MacMahon line. Both parties are in agreement that the matter should be settled by negotiations. Some steps have been taken in this respect. Whether an immediate solution is found or not, it does not appear that the present situation, which both China and India may have to live with for a considerable time, will lead to a major armed conflict, though it will certainly strain the relations between the two neighbors.

LETTERS

(*Continued from inside front cover*)

interest in society that had characterized the thirties, and with a usually rather angry rejection of the entire tradition of liberalism in the United States. It was accompanied by a renewed interest in supernatural religion, by political Toryism and doctrines of the elite . . . and by extravagances of Freudian and Jungian criticism without any of the social correctives the psychologists themselves have learned to apply.

The "fruitful marriage" between the New Critic and the textual scholar will not necessarily improve this state of affairs; nor will the problems of literary study in this country be solved as painlessly as Professor Mercier seems to expect.

GAYLORD C. LEROY
Philadelphia, Pa. Temple University

Dear Sirs: Professor LeRoy is obviously too intelligent to claim that a New Critic *must* be a political Tory, a believer in supernatural religion, an antidemocrat and a segregationist, but some people are certainly prejudiced enough to make such claims. It was partly in reaction against this type of associationist "thinking," to which Marxist critics were especially prone, that the New Critics strove to affirm the autonomous development of literature. Just because I happen to go to church and to share some of the views of the New Critics, I hope I'm not expected to give up writing for *The Nation* or sharing its views on integration, democracy and the welfare state.

VIVIAN MERCIER
Great Neck, L.I.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Aspiring Dolphin

THE LETTERS OF OSCAR WILDE. Edited by Rupert Hart-Davis. Harcourt, Brace & World. 958 pp. $15.

Ronald Bryden

WHY SHOULD the Wilde case still seem so important? It has grown into one of those myths, like the *Titanic,* which resurrects itself, year after year, in shoddy "studies" and Sunday supplement features. Even now, if you go to Père Lachaise to visit the great French dead in their small stone city, its Lilliputian streets and palaces climbing above Paris like a miniature citadel where glory has been stored against siege, the old men sweeping leaves refuse to credit that you come to honor Delacroix, Balzac, Colette. *"Le tombeau d'Oscar Wilde, monsieur? Tout droit, par là!"*—and they point firmly through the wet trees where Epstein's monster looms with spread wings, lion haunches and long, epicene, Egyptian-Irish face. Only last year the Paris papers reported that someone had mutilated it, obscenely. In literature, Wilde may be the minor master of a secondary period, the author of one classic farce, two well-written essays, some clever epigrams and dubious verse. In life, in his death, he still has power, apparently, to arouse passions, fascination and fear.

Rupert Hart-Davis' edition of his letters seems as much, as disproportionate, a monument as Epstein's. It runs to 950 pages, contains 1098 items, less than 200 of which have been published before, and at least twice that number, I'd estimate, of notes. Every name, every reference, has been tracked with superb patience: transient Oxford nicknames have been pinned onto forgotten Edwardian bankers, judges of Indian high courts; shadowy youths who flit across the last letters from Paris are identified. Two of the major sources for Wilde's last years, Frank Harris and Lord Alfred Douglas himself, were congenital liars, and other of his friends had cause to cover their tracks. Mr. Hart-Davis uncovers them calmly but ruthlessly, correcting dates, straightening out chronology, restoring suppressed passages, generally demonstrating who lied, who paltered, who stood by Wilde or betrayed him. Worth it or not, the result is a magnificent piece of scholarship. For the first time, we have the materials for a true biography, can jettison at last the mounds of inaccurate anecdote and prurient rubbish which have accumulated round Wilde's name.

What new image emerges from their wreckage? The first thing to be said is that no trace remains, if Auden left any, of the effigy of St. Oscar, Martyr. The notion of Wilde as a pioneer of the dark, free self, a rebel against a Philistine society which crushed him, rests on the truncated versions of *De Profundis,* with its vague, Romantic gestures toward artistic "self-realization" regardless of convention. Mr. Hart-Davis prints the whole letter for the first time. It becomes in this form, thank heaven, much more readable. The purple lagoons of self-pity remain, but take their place in a lucid, weary, on the whole restrained explanation to Alfred Douglas precisely how he had destroyed Wilde's life, and what he had destroyed. He had taken from Wilde his "distinguished name, high social position . . . the brilliant successes of my first nights and the brilliant banquets that followed them . . . that beautiful unreal world of Art where once I was King." This was the life Wilde thought destiny had intended him for, the true life for which his nature suited him. "Two things were absolutely necessary for him," wrote Robert Ross, his closest friend, "contact with comely things, as Pater says, and social position." Wilde did not choose exile, he had it thrust upon him. "I simply loathe my life at present," he wrote Ross pathetically, toward the end, from Italy.

Wilde never rebelled against the society which rejected him. He sought to succeed in it, by the dandy's technique he epigrammatised: nothing succeeds like excess. Dandiacally, he mocked its taste; but the velvet suits Gilbert satirized in *Patience* were the confident joke of a young man who knows that within his milieu—the square mile or so of Mayfair and St. James's—he will meet almost no one who is not an acquaintance. After his American tour he discarded costume, married and settled down like any fashionable young husband in a fashionable Chelsea street, a few doors away from Whistler, Sargent and a well-known judge, Mr. Justice Wills, who was to sentence him in 1895. Wilde loved society, swam in it as his element, rose to the top of it like an aspiring dolphin.

WHAT IS difficult to understand now is that he rose to the top of an almost wholly masculine society. In Victorian London no decent woman dined in public—the brilliant after-theatre suppers at the Café Royal were exclusively masculine affairs. Serious conversation took place only in smoking rooms, to which no woman ever penetrated—as no decent women had been to a university, there was little place for one in serious conversation. It was a society of all-male offices, all-male professions, governed by an all-male parliament, and its masculine institutions represented an economic fact. The wealth of Victorian England rested on enforcement of protracted masculine celibacy. The Empire was ruled by subalterns and civil servants who could scarcely hope to marry before forty; only India had developed a small community of white wives, and they belonged chiefly to the senior grades. The riches sent flowing back to London were counted by thousands of unmarried clerks, whose salaries would not support a family until well after thirty. At the universities which molded the proconsuls, celibacy had been compulsory for all dons until the 1870s. It was an age of bachelors, when a man could drift into single old age without suspicion of being more than a crusty "woman-hater"—they filled the clubs and smoking rooms and chophouses in which a celibate society consoled itself by evolving a whole separate masculine culture.

This was the culture to the top of which Wilde rose. It had its own tone, its slang, its sentimentalities, all of them exemplified in Wilde's early correspondence with his Oxford and artistic London friends. "My dear Boy"; My dearest Jimmy"; "Harry, why did you let me catch my train? I would have liked to have gone to the National Gallery with you, and looked at Valasquez's pale evil King. . . ." The last opens a letter to one of the many undergraduates who came to him with their poetry, their artistic ambitions, beglamoured by the poet who had made himself monarch of that adult masculine world with its wit,

RONALD BRYDEN, born in Trinidad, W.I., and educated in Canada and at Cambridge, has recently resigned as an editor of The Spectator *to join the staff of a new British magazine.*

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its urbane style, its subliminated friendships. They thronged round Wilde, admiring, flattering him; and he, gregarious, uneasy, found in their admiration the emotional confidence he needed. In 1891 his help was sought for a handsome, titled Oxford youth who was being blackmailed. It was not a long step from the harmlessly effusive notes to various Harrys to the fatal letter which was read out at his trial: "My Own Boy, your slim gilt soul walks between passion and poetry. . . ."

The case shook Victorian society to its foundations because it exposed the latent homosexuality upon which so much of its fabric rested. It stripped away the innocence which was its safeguard. Not every exiled subaltern on the Indian frontier, as a result of it, turned to his batman with new eyes, not every schoolmaster fell upon his charges; but that was how it felt to the English at the turn of the century. The Wilde affair gave them a self-consciousness which no amount of coeducation, women's suffrage, their admission to smoking, clubs and universities, has been able to remove. Like the *Titanic*, it became one of the great images of collapse, of a whole society cracking down the façade to reveal hidden, ignoble motives within. "I was a man who stood in symbolic relations to the art and culture of my age," wrote Wilde in *De Profundis*. In an unintended sense, he spoke the truth. The twentieth century was to knock wider, more fundamental cracks—the Dreyfus affair, the Russo-Japanese War, the revolution of 1905—in the world he belonged to before bringing it crumbling down in 1914. But his was the earliest, uncomprehended omen; it keeps the horror and fascination of prophecy.

Making Tomorrow Convincing

SEVEN DAYS IN MAY. By Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey, II. Harper & Row. 341 pp. $4.95.

FAIL-SAFE. By Eugene Burdick and Harvey Wheeler. McGraw-Hill. 286 pp. $4.95.

Robert Hatch

THAT convenient arbiter, the historian of the future, may well style our epoch the Age of Communication. No one is farther away than your telephone, newspapers are printed simultaneously at opposite sides of a continent and on opposite shores of an ocean, the word and picture channels of the air are never silent or dark, and now we bounce our urgent images off satellites to give them global range. Without doubt, we get the dope—instantly and in an abundance that beggars comprehension.

Indeed, that is the present rub. As communication intensifies, comprehension fades. We are so saturated by information, interpretation, prognostication that our minds dazzle, as do the eyes from excess of light. Every idea, however striking, portentous, or horrifying, is so immediately pervasive that it becomes a commonplace before its audience has had the chance to be amazed, to tremble.

Thus arises the absurd situation that a world population exposed to information in quantities beyond the dreams of even its fathers seems nevertheless largely unmoved by the deadly perils in which it lives. The louder one screams "megaton" or "pesticide" or "population explosion," the less effectively, it seems, these baleful words are heard.

Because of this impasse, spokesmen for our lives and sanity from time to time turn their backs on the instigators of more decibels and hopefully urge our creative minds to enlist in the battle for enlightenment. Where technology has failed, perhaps art, which speaks to each man personally through his own experiences, will succeed. But art is a mulish instrument for the transmittal of urgent instruction. It is not that artists do not care; indeed, they seem as a group to care appreciably more than other people. It is rather that their instruments are not shaped for the job. A novelist who as a man is acutely alarmed by the build-up for annihilation, may nevertheless find that as an artist he cannot transmit that alarm. At least not in a good novel, and a poor novel is no help to anyone. For the most part, artists mirror their world; they do not preach to it, neither do they prophesy.

Into this stalemate there has recently entered a new type of craftsman—the prophetic entertainer. He is a writer who makes no pretense to literary art; in matters of character, narrative devices, style and psychology, he models his work on formulas developed by the large fiction magazines, by television family drama, by the commercial movies. He is out for the very largest market (and he is reaching it), but the fuel that drives his vehicle is not love or success or adventure—it is doomsday.

George Orwell and Nevil Shute were

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early practitioners of the exemplary diversion and *1984* and *On the Beach* were the first books of the kind to reach beyond the reading public and capture the attention of the populace. But both men projected their minatory visions too far —their doomed peoples and dying worlds were clearly not our friends or our neighborhoods. The kinship of these books was to science fiction, a literature which is certainly dominated by panoramas of cataclysm (and, just perhaps, bliss unimaginable) somewhere and some time "out there."

THE true application of the method is to be seen in *Seven Days in May* and *Fail-Safe,* both of which are at present leading the domestic fiction market and both of which, it seems inevitable, will soon be on film for world distribution. These novels are built firmly on the foundations of suspense, sustained and sweeping action, the verisimilitude of technical detail, and simplistic but strongly projected character. These ingredients of success could be predicted; more important is the fact that neither book allows a gap of time or place between the reader and the fiction. *Seven Days in May* and *Fail-Safe* are as immediate, in the inevitable phrase, as tomorrow's newspaper.

Knebel and Bailey are both in the Washington Bureau of the Cowles Publications; they write as men intimately acquainted with the public streets and private channels of the capital. Their tale is of a narrowly averted plot by the military leadership to unseat the President and seize the country. The authors carry a small step forward the tendency of the military to arrogate to itself the area of policy which by law and tradition is reserved in this country to civilian hands, but which it becomes increasingly difficult to separate from the dominant economic and moral power which the armed services already wield.

The authors shape their narrative, not only to carry the reader on an unbroken chase after excitement, but to neutralize his skepticism. Does it seem unlikely that the Pentagon could, for its private purposes, set up in the Western desert a large airborne unit, secret even from the President? Knebel and Bailey show how, in the hands of virtuosi, channels can be used to conceal as well as to convey intelligence. They show, further, that the secrecy to which we have become habituated since Pearl Harbor not only bars the citizen from information that may poignantly concern him, but even atrophies his curiosity as to what these forbidden documents and areas may contain. Man is becoming the uncurious animal—an anomaly among vertebrates. Would not the President, having smelled out a plot against his office, go instantly to the people with a ringing denunciation of the traitors? But suppose the President were himself in low public repute; suppose a project on which he had staked his prestige were ominously hanging fire? He might not dare a public duel with one of our myth-englamoured generals, particularly if his evidence were more circumstantial than documentary.

Does it appear fantastic, finally, that a television newscaster and a United States Senator might conspire to destroy the Constitution? Unhappily, the authors do not have to exert much cunning to make that supposition persuasive. I would give *Seven Days in May* a very high mark for probability. Its authors resort to no *outré* gadgetry, they envision no circumstance so bizarre as to lend distance and comfort. Beneath the blood-stirring excitement of their melodrama lies the clammy suspicion that just such a plot might be hatched, almost any day now, across the Potomac from the Washington Monument.

EUGENE BURDICK, with William Lederer, is the author of *The Ugly American,* which is probably the most frequently cited fiction of this decade, even though most people misunderstand the irony of the title. In the matter of plausibility, Burdick and his new partner, Harvey Wheeler, do as well as the Washington team. Theirs, in a way, is an easier task. Their topic is an accidental nuclear strike by American planes on Moscow and, though as far as we know there has never been an attempt to take the White House by force, we are aware that accidents have more than once set our striking machinery in action.

I am not sure, though, that their sense of immediacy stands up as well, at least in detail. They permit themselves a good deal of electronic license, for one thing, and that takes them to the edge of science fiction. For another, they employ real people as characters—Kennedy and Khrushchev and a wicked man so like Herman Kahn that they scrupulously mention Mr. Kahn as being active somewhere offstage. Excellent though they are at vivid action, Burdick and Wheeler are not very good portraitists. The two Ks do not talk as convincingly even as the moderately talented night-club entertainers who mimic them, and the authors' determination to get inside those massively disciplined exteriors forces them into free-style psychoanalyzing and produces a long-distance phone call so bizarre that I decided the speakers were lunatics suffering from megalomaniac false identity. But on the central point—that an attack could be launched under such circumstances that it could not be recalled when the alarm proved false—the authors are convincing, and frightening, enough. By using rockets instead of planes they might have been still more persuasive, but that would have deprived them of a large part of the human element on which they build tension.

So these two books may point a way to communication in a noise-engulfed world. They weave probabilities with human interest into a design that the reader can feel as intimately as the rug under his feet. The picture of one President fighting covertly but desperately to save this country from a military junta, of another President pleading his honesty with a passion that stems from knowing that only his credibility can save the world from destruction—these are much "warmer" and lasting impressions than such concepts as the military-

Discovering Hate

(From the Italian of Vittorio Sereni)

Here was the fault, the inveterate
blunder: believing that all you need procure
is love. Ah the crowds of "gay deceivers"
the parties with music in snob neighborhoods . . .
Does a different concert answer
the night from an upper terrace and the
reflowering street straggle into the outskirts?
But let it come some late date, let an hour
come of real heat and the holy war
break out between me and all you
false faces, and your sly games of love
disfigured: in my evenhanded way
with love, not owing not
wasted, friends, I'll burn right through you.

Sonia Raiziss

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industrial complex, escalation, countervailing force and the like. The two writing teams have great commercial skill and will win substantial commercial rewards. But I believe that they had in mind more than commercial goals and, for the sake of us all, I hope they are attaining them.

BUT the subject is not closed with that pious wish. The literature to which *Seven Days in May* and *Fail-Safe* belong achieves its popularity at the cost of falsifying—or, to be kinder, simplifying—human experience. And in the area of world crisis this may be a high price to pay for information, let alone entertainment. True to type, both books deal, not in flesh and blood, but in super cardboard. And, true to type, they glorify man (including the reader). You come from them feeling refreshed, keen-minded, about ten feet high. It is the well-known Walter Mitty effect and it lies at the base of all mass entertainment.

The crises described may well come to be part of history, but the solutions offered belong to the worlds of Eric Ambler and Clark Kent. Coincidence and accident are used impartially to set up and dissipate disaster, and the men who walk the edge of catastrophe have feet that falter, for the sake of the excitement, but never slip. It is more than coincidence that the aide who sits at Kennedy's elbow during the hours of agony, a linguist of such genius that he can render not only what Khrushchev says, but also what he thinks, feels, dreams and fears, is a pool translator named Buck. And in the Knebel-Bailey thriller the last-second arrival of a tiny but conclusive bit of evidence will cause the least impressionable reader to cheer—and leave him safely in the grandstand.

The effect of reading these books is certainly to make the perils more credible. At the same time, if we are not wary, it is to make us believe that Someone Up There is watching over us and that our leaders, no matter how late the hour, can be depended on to extricate us and themselves from the maelstrom. There is no evidence that God has ever spared man the fruits of his folly and none that a people can dare to delegate judgment to its leaders. Perhaps these are additional reasons why journeymen can lend themselves to such topics and artists cannot. What an artist might write could hardly be broadcast as entertainment.

These books are good medicine, but very careful note should be taken of the ingredients.

Second Impressions

Review of Paperbacks

Robert M. Wallace

American History

Pattern and Meaning in History (originally *Meaning in History*) by Wilhelm Dilthey (Harper & Row, 95c) is a group of six chapters constructed by H. P. Richman from Dilthey's *Collected Works*. In these and a searching introduction are presented his final, generally historicist, views on sequence, consequence and meaning in history. *Introduction to the Philosophy of History: An Essay on the Limits of Historical Objectivity* by Raymond Aron (Beacon, $2.25) is particularly interesting for its doubts that the causes of human action can be fully discovered or specifically identified. These arduous studies are very pointed in connection with the partial appearance in paper covers of three notable series and numerous separate titles in American history. All imperiously call to mind the interpretive function of historians.

Albert Bushnell Hart's original American Nation Series, especially Frederick Jackson Turner's *Rise of the New West: 1819-1829* (Collier, 95c), which was model and starting point for two generations, is still welcome, though the New American Nation Series, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, and the Chicago History of American Civilization, edited by Daniel J. Boorstin, have greater current relevance. John Higham in the introduction to *The Reconstruction of American History* (Harper & Row, $1.65) notes how such analyses and successive reinterpretations have given American historical writing point for each period, and the ten essays of his symposium not only analyze the changing views and emphases of this century but make clear the need for caution.

Reconstruction, Political and Economic 1865-1877 by William A. Dunning (Harper & Row, $1.95), the standard conservative account after fifty-five years, and *Reconstruction After the Civil War* by John Hope Franklin (Chicago, $1.75), perhaps too clearly a work of 1961, illustrate the importance of the changes and the value of having both treatments. Dunning is particularly strong on politics and business, Franklin on problems and conflicts touching the freedmen. These are complementary works, as indeed the three series should be considered throughout.

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The Cultural Life of the American Colonies: 1607-1763 by Louis B. Wright (Harper & Row, $1.85) is a model of cultural history on the somewhat more conventional plan of the New American Nation Series. It is brief but closely packed and attractively written, with the extensive notations of sources and new bibliography typical of the series. All the colonies, the arts and crafts and varied cultural projects are treated.

Other recent releases include:

The English People on the Eve of Colonization: 1603-1630 by Wallace Notestein and *The Coming of the Revolution: 1763-1775* by Lawrence Henry Gipson (Harper & Row, $1.85 ea.) in the New American Nation Series.

The American Spirit by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard (Collier, $1.50). A searching essay in intellectual history, especially interesting for its treatment of individualism and urbanized civilization; the separately viable fourth volume of *The Rise of American Civilization.*

The Russian Expedition to America by Sven Waxell (Collier, 95c). The record of Bering's explorations in the Kamchatka-Aleutian area, 1733-1745, by his chief lieutenant; only one poor map.

Forth to the Wilderness by Dale Van Every (Mentor, 75c). A lively, sound account of the Appalachian frontier, 1754-1774, applying Turner's views and methods to the earlier period.

Patrick Henry by Moses Coit Tyler (Cornell, $2.25). The great, sometimes forensic rehabilitation of Henry, now seventy-five years old, defending him from earlier views that he was barely literate, recklessly bellicose and roughly self-seeking.

Life and Times of Frederick Douglas, introduction by Rayford W. Logan (Collier, $1.50). The complete autobiography of 1892, vivid and stirring, covering Douglas' slavery in Maryland, his escape to New York and his distinguished career as an uncompromising reformer and promoter of Negro rights.

Roosevelt and Modern America by John A. Woods and *Washington and the American Revolution* by Esmond Wright (Collier, 95c each.). Rapid surveys, especially good on Washington.

The Angry Black South, Glenford E. Mitchell and William H. Peace, III, editors (Corinth, $1.25). Largely firsthand accounts by six young Negro participants of the nonviolent movement against racial discrimination; an informative original.

American Race Relations Today, Earl Raab, editor (Anchor, 95c). Sobering professional examinations of problems "beyond segregation," especially in cities where integration has been undertaken.

Also: *Doctors on Horseback: Pioneers of American Medicine* by James Thomas Flexner (Collier, $1.50). *Felix Frankfurter Reminisces,* talks with Harlan B. Phillips (Anchor, $1.45). *Main Travelled Roads* by Hamlin Garland (Signet, 60c). *A Gallery of Women* and *Twelve Men,* Theodore Dreiser collections, introduced by William C. Lengel (Premier, 75c ea.). *American Ballads,* Charles O'Brien Kennedy, editor (Crest, 50c).

Dante

La Vita Nuova by Dante Alighieri, translated by Mark Musa (Indiana, $1.65). A sensitive, unfettered verse translation of the thirty-one poems to Beatrice with the Italian, and the prose links; with a new introduction.

Longfellow's *Inferno* (Collier, 95c). Most of the valuable notes and comments and the best nineteenth-century American translation slightly modified; useful new material by Bernard Stambler.

The Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Paradise, translated by Dorothy L. Sayers and Barbara Reynolds (Penguin, $1.25). Worthy though less masterly completion of Dorothy Sayers' translation, which goes through Canto XX; with excellent notes and commentary as in the uniform *Hell* and *Purgatory.*

The Ladder of Vision: A Study of Dante's Comedy by Irma Brandeis (Anchor, 95c). Argues that by means of symbolic imagery the *Comedy* achieves true poetic unity and despite Croce relates its didactic matter and lyric power.

Miscellaneous

The People and the Constitution by Cecil S. Emden (Oxford, $1.85). The British people's influence on the selection of issues and establishment of policy, especially since 1832.

The Metaphysical Poets by Helen C. White (Collier, $1.50). Basic in understanding Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan and Traherne.

The Fable of the Bees by Bernard Mandeville (Capricorn, $1.65). The acid verse-fable with much of the prose commentary usually omitted, on the artifices by which irrational man is made useful in society; meaty introduction by Irwin Primer.

ART

Hilton Kramer

IT IS more or less taken as an article of faith today that the School of Paris is in decline. A great deal of the new French art that reaches us, whether it bears exalted or humble names, confirms us in the conviction that the great days of Paris are over. Yet it would be a mistake to assume, as the art public in New York seems increasingly eager to do, that this decline affects Parisian artists with a uniform disability. The tendency now is to look at French art as a mirror of New York tastes and assumptions, to seek out only those qualities which reflect favorably on our own values, and thus to miss (if not explicitly to *dis*miss) whatever the School of Paris may still have to offer in the way of artistic conception and execution. An attitude that had its legitimate beginnings in an effort to define the possibilities of a native American style has now developed into a dogma that threatens to deprive us of an important area of aesthetic experience.

Precisely how important that area may be has been demonstrated once again in the exhibition of new sculpture by Etienne Hajdu, at Knoedler's during October. (The show will be seen at the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati, during December, and at the Arts Club of Chicago in February.) Hajdu is now, at fifty-five, an artist in full command of first-class powers, and an artist quintessentially Parisian in every aspect of his work. His exhibition is large — thirty-nine sculptures in addition to drawings — and is characterized by that subtle interplay of elegance and manliness, precise workmanship and intellectu-

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al clarity, which is the special dialectic of French art. It shows us how forceful the Parisian virtues remain in the hands of an artist who can summon all his strengths to serve the purposes of a rigorous vision.

Hajdu works in two sculptural genres. The first consists of free-standing sculpture, usually small enough to rest on a table, comprising a flat, slablike mass — most frequently marble — cut into a very precise silhouette whose surface is carved with great delicacy and polished to a high finish. The themes are usually female heads and birds. The effect of these pieces is at once stark, pure and humorous. The workmanship is magnificent — Hajdu is one of the last of the great stonecutters — but its importance lies less in its technical virtuosity than in its ability to place itself so completely, and with such apparent ease, at the disposal of the sculptor's image. This image is of a transcendent repose, earthly enough to be witty and elegant but essentially metaphysical in its loyalties — an image fixed forever in the memory, purified of its accidents, and rendered into an archetype by the almost ineffable finesse of the sculptor's method. While fundamentally "abstract," Hajdu's art is never concerned to conceal its existential sources. Its formal exactitude guarantees that only as much of experience as the artist has fully mastered will be admitted to the final image. Perhaps this, too, identifies its essentially Parisian character.

THE SECOND and more ambitious mode in which Hajdu works is a hammered-metal relief that hangs on the wall like a large painting. Whereas his free-standing sculpture evokes memories of Arp and Brancusi, whose examples have served Hajdu well, the reliefs are an entirely original conception. The lyrical, undulating rhythms of these vast metal sheets (mostly copper or aluminum) are like nothing else in modern sculpture. Their elegant forms, the product of thousands of exact, delicate hammer blows to the underside of the metal, comprise a virtual alphabet of emotive symbols. At times their sweep is of an almost epic grandeur, as if some antique battle scene had been transmuted into its expressive essence and reconstituted into a pure drama of the sensibility. There is in these works that profound synthesis of the sensual and the cerebral which has long been one of the glories of the French mind. In their presence one scarcely thinks of other sculpture; it is to memories of Poussin and Racine that one casts back for meaningful precedents.

If Hajdu has succeeded — as I believe he has—in broaching heroic themes in these great reliefs, it is because he has done so in a way that satisfies a purely modern concept of the heroic; which is to say, by understating his subject and eschewing high-flown rhetoric. Unlike Lipchitz and Moore (in other respects, his superiors), who have endeavored to create heroic styles out of a revival of Rodinesque gestures, Hajdu remains modest, economic, utterly terse in his formal language. The drama, at once sculptural and metaphysical, is all the more powerful for being devoid of flourishes and conventional heroics.

Hajdu's modesty — his precision and understatement — allows him to indulge his taste for finely worked surfaces and beautiful effects without sacrificing anything to prettiness. His elegance is absolutely impersonal, a sign of his detachment. His goal has been a kind of nobility and robustness having nothing to do with the revelation of personality, and he has placed his art at the farthest possible remove from the expressionist *angst*, the "psychology" and false emotions of so much recent art. We cannot go to it as a mirror in which to read our own neuroses — and perhaps that alone will be enough to condemn it in the eyes of many New Yorkers.

LETTER from CHICAGO

Jean Martin

CHICAGO, long accustomed to being on the tail end of things theatrical, especially where English drama is concerned, was surprised to find, with the import of London's satirical night-club troupe, The Establishment, that for once the tail was leading the pack. In an even-steven swap of players, Chicago's Second City improvisational coffeehouse troupe is playing for two months in the English group's London quarters. The Establishment is London's latest intellectual rage, but Chicago audiences (as snobbish as the next one in the admiration of an English accent) found in this case that, like the Emperor's new clothes, the myth was lovely, but the substance wasn't there.

The Establishment operates at 19 Greek Street, Soho, as a private club of ten thousand members, and in that way gets around bothersome British censorship. It was begun by Peter Cook, Michael Frayne, and all that crowd who managed to parlay some Cambridge undergrad capers (via the Edinburgh-Festival-before-last) into a West End hit revue (*Beyond the Fringe*), a little mag of satire, a weekly column in *The Observer*, and this club with the excellent name. (Dean Swift would doubtless be astonished to hear there's money in satire these days, but then he probably would be told his stuff wasn't funny enough.) None of the *Beyond the Fringe* cast appears at The Establishment, which has its own group of bright, angry young things, not one of whom appears to be more than twenty-odd years old.

THE differences between the year-old Establishment and Chicago's group with its eight years of mixed experience, besides the obvious one of professionalism gained through practice, are small but telling. In the first place, Second City works out its skits by improvising before audiences, gradually setting up a skeleton concept which they transfer in loose form to their permanent program; The Establishment players improvise among themselves, then present

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the finished result, tight, pat and explicit, before the audience. The difference is like that between live TV and tape: almost imperceptively The Establishment method has taken the edge off the suspense, even the mild suspense of hoping for something accidental. The second difference between the two groups is that The Establishment skits spring from literary origins, from *words* (the club advertises for "writer-actors"); its thinking is abstract in concept, the satire directed at ideas. Second City proceeds out of *character* (the dense General, the Southern Senator, Barry Goldwater, Oedipus, et al.) which makes for gentler, more humanistic, more particularized comedy — if vaguer satire. The third difference is that The Establishment, whose home stage is about the size of a night-club table, does mostly sit-down skits, and enlarges its scope by such theatrical gimmicks as slides and movies, while Second City creates time, place and space out of the audience imagination. But the fourth, oddest and least expected difference between the two is that The Establishment is, for want of a better word, dirty — and Second City is not. This version of The Establishment is reportedly cleaned up some, but it still struck Chicago audiences as rather pointlessly off-color.

THE Establishment actors were in themselves attractive young intellectuals, looking like beatniks back from Rhodes Scholarships. There was John Fortune (an Anthony Perkins type, perennially in need of a haircut), Jeremy Geidt (owl-eyed, puckish, persimmon-mouthed), John Bird (vaguely jolly, vaguely unpleasant) and sleepy-eyed Eleanor Bron (who behaves as though she is a raving beauty and almost convinces you she is). There was also a nondescript girl singer who sang nondescript songs and who might as well have been left at home. Among them they did eleven skits, all short, not very sharp, not "teddibly" clever, and while basically more vicious than their Chicago counterparts, not enough so to stir the blood. The theatrical pace was slow, and the style was the oddly British one of no-style.

Some of the skits made and remade the same point: viz., an Englishman's class shows as soon as he opens his mouth. There was a scene in a magistrate's court in which two men produced identical alibis, one delivered in a lower-class accent, the other with upper-crust cultured tones, and were respectively pronounced guilty and acquitted. The same point was remade, somewhat more sharply, in a scene about three crucified men, the two on the lower crosses complaining in cockney accents that the one elevated above them was getting preferential treatment. There was also a pretty good take-off on the Queen's speech-making talents as she referred to her notes. . . . "Everywhah in our reahlm . . . in the north (glance at notes) . . . in the south (glance at notes) . . . in the east (glance at notes) . . . and so we say to you. . . ." A not very clever scene showed a landlady refusing a Jamaican student lodgings: "It's not that I'm afraid of what the neighbors would say. It's just that I'm prejudiced," she explains. Then there was the inevitable take-off on the Kennedy news conference. . . . "We must never negotiate through fear, nor must we fear to negotiate, not fear to fear to negotiate, nor negotiate to fear to fear to negotiate. . . ." That one, further along in the week, managed to stir up some Midwestern boos. In a commentary on "Export or Die," the British Manufacturers Association, after voting by a narrow margin to export, decides that what must be done is for management to go "down there" (gesturing vaguely) to the shop to talk to the worker (gesture of distaste) to get him to improve on the quality of the goods so they can be shipped out of Britain where they belong. To underscore this allusion to British workmanship, they showed a film clip of a large electric sign now functioning, or rather *mal*functioning, in Picadilly: it says, "Export Goes Up . . . (a dim neon thumb goes up, sometimes) or Britain Goes Do." The last number was a song, "Sitting around in the Sun," which had movie clips of the royal family seated in their gilded coach or in their box at Ascot, alternating with glimpses of the atom bomb, rioting in Africa, etc.

All in all, the troupers themselves were charmers, but they lacked what the British traditionally lack: really sharp style, contemporary taste and a commercial pace. Their Chicago counterparts, while doggedly provincial, unpolished and even a shade homey, remained top dogs in the tiny kingdom of satire.

ALONG with the tiny London Establishment, Chicago imported in the same week evidence of the ultimate in French establishments — the Treasures of Versailles show at the Art Institute. It made a fine eye-catcher for the reopened Institute — which, completely redone, gives Chicagoans the weird feeling that they are in somebody else's museum. The Treasures, the largest collection of Versailles bric-a-brac and paintings ever allowed outside France, was installed in the new Morton Wing, which with its glass wall and helical staircase manages to turn a corner of the old Institute into a watered-down Museum of Modern Art. As art, the Treasures are mainly social history, including Van Cleef and Arpel's loan of Josephine's tacky old diamond tiara. Looking like rhinestones that badly needed cleaning, it was nervously watched over by an uneasy Institute guard, replete with self-conscious pistol.

ABC of Culture

So the "angel" of death whistles Mozart
(As we knew he would),
Bicycling amid the smoke of Auschwitz,
The Jews of Auschwitz,
In the great museum of Western Art.

Harvey Shapiro

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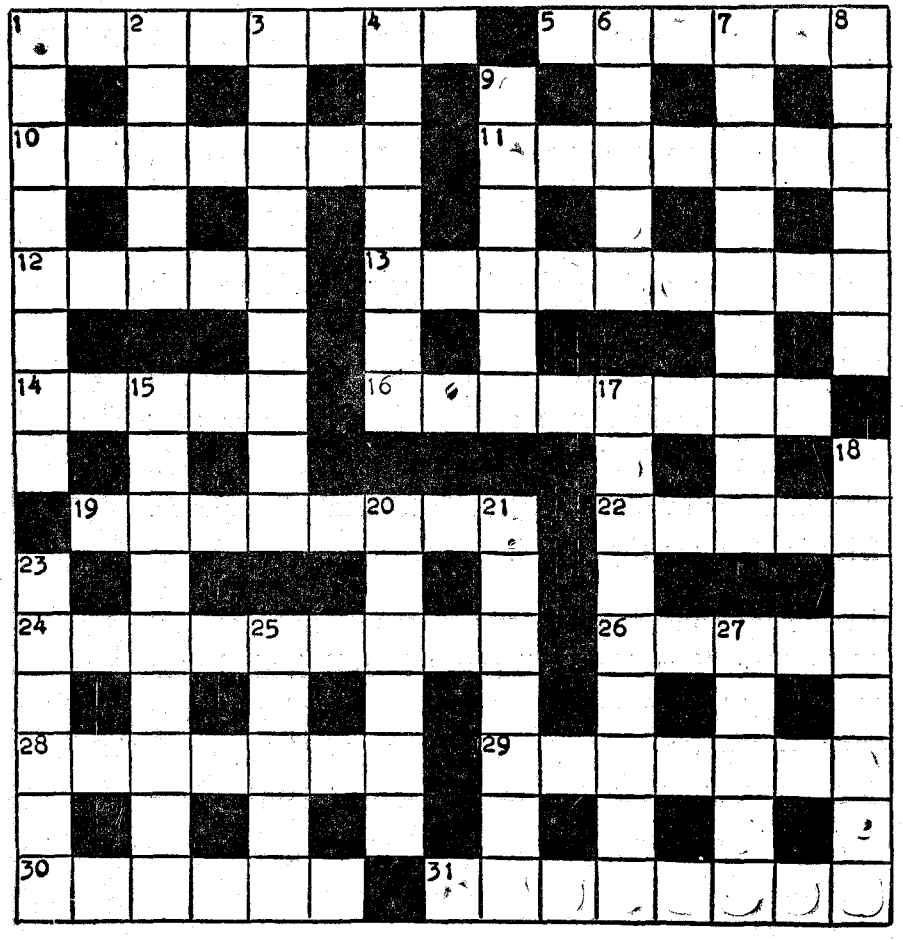
Crossword Puzzle No. 983

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1, 5, 30 and 31 Into little bits of sweetness, with a resigned expression? (5, 3, 3, 3, 6, 8)
10 Loud speakers, proverbially. (7)
11 Is it played on top of a chamois?
12 A bit quiet with a color! (5)
13 Calls to account, as Mrs. Browning might have said. (9)
14 A cloudy figure for Hamlet? (5)
16 Thirteen cards appear indistinct—possibly because you're weaving with it. (8)
19 Dye scent enclosed in a sac. (8)
22 Would such a diver make an appearance in fomenting rebellion? (5)
24 Are those following a cause proven adequate? (9)
26 Stretches paces to get where hangings might take place. (5)
28 Willing people are this. (7)
29 One has undoubtedly served. (7)
30 and 31 See 1 across

DOWN:

1 Can't arts get business done this way? (8)
2 One has to, later, to get it. (5)
3 Play on words, after a fashion. (9)
4 How to settle his hash? (7)
6 The flower of 11 with a bright star. (5)
7 One might find them, too, so palatable. (9)
8 He at least sounds serious! (6)
9 Hold back and enclose, as water does. (6)
15 The letters of its name must be changed by declaration. (9)
17 How to register a regular movement, by the sound of it, in mathematics. (9)
18 Half-vegetable, half-animal, all human, despite what some may think! (8)
20 Acted like a generous tipper? (6)
21 How they bring things home to you is assailed, whenever it is brought up. (7)
23 What makes the C.I.C. so excited! (6)
25 A sort of 10, poles apart, might be from South America. (5)
27 Made from Shakespeare's father's bones? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 982

ACROSS: 1 Opening remarks; 9 Elation; 10 Footing; 11 Tragic; 12 Impacted; 14 Entrain; 15 Throb; 19 Satinet; 21 Marked up; 25 Skillet; 26 Arizona; 27, 17 and 23 What are the wild waves saying? DOWN: 1 Overthrow; 2 Emanate; 3 Initiates; 4 Gang; 5 Effeminate; 6 Aloha; 7 Knitter; 13 Pass muster; 15 Tantalize; 16 Baby grand; 18 Varnish; 20 Tripoli; 21 and 8 Massaged; 22 Eclat; 24 Fast.

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